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COMPENDIUM POLITICUM,

OR; THE

Distempers of Government,

Under these two Heads,

The Nobilities } *Desire of* { *RULE.*
The Commons } *Desire of* { *LIBERTY.*

With their proper Remedies, in a brief Essay on the long Reign of

King HENRY III.

By *J. Y.* of *Grayes-Inne*, Esq;.

Joh. Yalden the author

Πᾶσα τέχνη καὶ πᾶσα μέθοδος, ὁμοίως δὲ πρᾶξις τε καὶ προαίρεσις, ἀγαθοῦ τινος ἐφιέσθαι δοκεῖ. Arist. Ethic. lib. 1. cap. 1.

Ars omnis, itemque actio, & propositum aliquod bonum expetere videtur.

LONDON,
Printed for *Robert Clavel*, at the Sign of the *Peacock* in St. *Paul's Church-yard* 1680.

COMPENDIUM POLITICUM

OR, THE

Different Forms of Government,

In the Nobilities } Depos'd } KING.
The Commons } Depos'd } LIBERTY

With their proper Remedies, in a brief Essay on the long Reign of

KING HENRY III.

By J. T. of [illegible], Esq.

[illegible]

LONDON,

Printed for Robert Clavel, at the Sign of the [illegible]

To his most Honoured *Uncle*, but more worthy *Friend*, Mr. THOMAS STOCK of *Upham* in the County of *Southampton*, Gent.

WHither *should we fly for succour against approaching dangers but to such whose goodness and abi-*

lity hath both sheltered and protected us heretofore? 'Tis hard for a Cock-boat to venture to confront a Storm, when the ablest Ship must be in a great deal of danger. These Tempestuous times seem to threaten Shipwrack to the Commonwealth *her self, and what must a single member thereof expect, when he steers himself betwixt the violence of Opposite Interests and Factions?* Liberty! Liberty! *was too lately the*

Cry, when in the consequence the whole Kingdom laboured under the greatest Tyranny and Slavery; and those that affect the People with that, surprise them to their own purposes, in the unjust and covert propagation of their own affected Superiority: Thus you see the Rocks on both sides, and from your exemplary moderation I have studied and learned an impartial guidance in these distractions of time.

Happy

Happy is he who can discriminate his Judgement, and (in these times) anchor his Affections in the blessed Haven of Peace, and infallible impartiallity. We ought to be as sollicitous about the lawfulness of the means, as about the goodness of the end; It is a rule in Ethics *that* Bonum oritur ex integris, *and in Christ's Schole, that* We must not do evil that good may come of it; *and we may possibly pre-*

vent

vent future couſenage, if we examine the Lawfulneſs *of every circumſtance leading to the end propounded, before we are tickled and tranſported with the beauty of the pretence. This Armour I have always thought and learned from your excellent* Example, *and from the* Principles *laid down by the beſt Authors to be* Faction proof.

This Compendium *as your* Relation *claimes your Care; and under*

that pretence the Author is emboldned to thruſt it into your Cloſſet. It claimes your peruſal, becauſe it is Political, and ſtrikes at the Root of ſuch Errors as are too frequently viſible both in the Prince and People: Under the Government of the firſt you are concerned in reſpect to the King's Care, as your Sovereign, and under the Obedience of the latter, with relation to your Duty, and Allegiance as his Subject.

ject. *It had been needleſs to have writ any Epiſtle at all, had I had no deſigne more neceſſary, than that of commenting on my Labour (the full Bulk whereof extending it ſelf not beyond the bigneſs of a moderate Dedication) But the moſt enforcing enducement was that of taking hold on this occaſion publickly to exert my gratitude.*

And that the World may know how much I am

obliged always to render my ſelf,

Your moſt faithful Friend

and affectionate Nephew

Grayes-Inne
Feb. 8. 1679.

JOHN YALDEN.

TO THE READER.

READER,

I Muſt firſt be ſo juſt to my ſelf as to avoid *Pliny*'s malediction againſt thoſe Thieves who will ſteal even an whole Author, and not ſo much as add to the ſenſe one Paragraph, or alter one Syllable in the Phraſe, *Reprehenſione dignum eſt, Majorum tacere nomina, & eorum ſibi appropriare ingenia.* Whereas (ſaith the ſame Au-

thor) *Benignum etenim eſt & plenum ingenui pudoris fateri per quos profeceris*; Nevertheleſs I can only tell thee this, that I have changed both the Phraſe (to a finer Allay) of my Author, I have added many whole Paragraphs and pages to purſue his excellent deſigne, which he had only framed, not compleated; and which came to my hands in the form of an old muſty Manuſcript, which was not capable to tell its Author's name, and very difficult to expreſs its deſigne, being in many places prejudiced by time (that *Edax rerum*) to a great imperfection. I thought

it

it therefore best not to thrust it into the World crippled and injured as it was, nor to amend its old expressions with a new sort of Dialect, on purpose to avoid piecing and patching; And if yet any thing of Lameness shall remain, be thou not a *Novercâ*, but rather a *Nutrix*, extenuate thy Candor and suppress thy prejudice and if thou pleasest to take the pains thou hast as much right to put it into a better dress, which I commend to thy sufficient ability. Yet nevertheless it is expected from some that this will be upbraided with Bastardy, and

be despised and hated as *Filius Populi*, by that abounding and multitudinous sort of People who are called *Partialists*, who always wedded to their own particular Lusts and private Interests, that are factious even to Rebellion and Tyranny, that will neither give God nor Cæsar his due: Notwithstanding it is resolved to venture, knowing that no sorrow is sudden to an expectation; And that it will find some (though but a few) that will both commend and protect it. It will Court all but Flatter none: It is the hand that points at *The Princes Right and the Peoples Liberty*

berty. It is that little Coſtick which will twinge all ſuch whoſe corruptions are ripe for ſeparation; and though it may make them wince at the touch of their thwarted paſſions; yet it is the ſureſt means to work the cure, if they will be perſwaded to endure the Pain.

The deſign of this is to ſweeten the ſeeming bitter ſeverities, yet juſt neceſſities of Government and render them plauſible and palliable to the People, that ſo they may delight more in their Duty to obey than the Sovereign in his Power to Command (*Legum ſervi ſumus*

ut

ut Libri esse possumus, saith *Cicero*) And the Prince (on whose Head is placed both at once the Weight and Glory of a Crown) and the People may both mutually know (since the burthen of a Crown is first understood before the Glory is perceived) that Grandure is both to compensate as well as dignify the toyles and difficulties of Government.

Bracton saith *Nihil aliud potest Rex, in terris cum sit Dei Minister & Vicarius, nisi id solum quod de jure potest*, which is an Axiome that puts reciprocal bounds of Justice and Goodness, both to instruct

the

the Prince in his Duty and Behaviour towards God and his Subjects, and the People in their due Obedience to their Sovereign, ſince the King is none, but the Almighty's Subſtitute or Vice-Roy, and conſequently to be queſtioned for his Actions, or puniſhed by none but God himſelf, who is not to be haſtned or directed in the diſpoſition of his Vengeance, but rather entreated by hearty Prayer for the removal of his Plagues and Judgements.

I ſtand amazed when I conſider the many Factions and Seditions amongſt us, that theſe Kingdoms are not al-

already the Subjects of irritated Juſtice: when I hear the open murmurs, and ſee the many Treaſonable Libels in theſe licentious times; The Prince abuſed, and the People deceived by Inſtruments of Darkneſs and wicked practices, by ſuch men, or rather Monſters, who when they moſt violently cry up the Kingdomes good under the neceſſity of reforming the manners of Magiſtracy, they onely aim at the deſtruction of Peace and Innocence, which is the hated Object of ſuch devouring Vultures.

Hence I foreſee the Imminent Dangers and miſerable

Ca-

Calamities that every moment ſeems to threaten inevitable miſeries on theſe divided Kingdoms. One may perceive the dreadful ſtorm hanging, as it were, immediately over our Heads, We are confounded on all Hands, and the Diſeaſe ſeems almoſt Remedileſs; *Rome*'s horrid Plots are not yet fully detected, and God knows how much of the *Good old Cauſe* remains yet to this day in the Hearts of partial and ill affected *Puritans*. Theſe two are the *Sylla* and *Charibdis* of our misfortunes, and ſeem to make but one Body, becauſe they aim at one end, the

the deſtruction of our Lives, Religion and Government.

Let the King and People therefore of the eſtabliſhed Church of *England* take as much care againſt the hatred of a *Puritan* as againſt the malice of a *Jeſuite*, the Contrivances of the latter (being commonly prevented) having never acted ſo vile a Tragedy, as the Principles and Practices of the former. The *Pope* in all his Bulls and Interdicts cannot fulminate more Maledictions than have been reduced into Practice amongſt our *Jeſuited Fanaticks*.

Let us then beware of theſe

these two; Be obedient to our King; and his Majesty careful both of himself and us; let the Laws be duely practised and observed, and then the King, our Lives, Religion and Government will be safely preserved.

Farewell.

ERRATA.

PAge 3. line 23. read *such tortious*. p. 4. l. 17. r. *would not*. p. 12. l. 14. r. *any matter*. p. 16. l. 23. r. *as the*, l. 25. dele *B*. p. 18. l. 13. r. *and popularity*. p. 32. l. 7. r. *the King's neceſſities*. p. 45. l. 16. r. *former reſtrictions*. p. 47. l. 14. r. *view of*. p. 51. l. 2. r. *inraged*. p. 51. l. 12. r. *So the*. p. 60. l. ult. r. *and precipitation*. p. 61. l. 17. r. *almoſt*, l. 21. r. *beſtowing*.

COMPENDIUM POLITICUM,

OR,

The Diſtempers of Government,

With their proper Remedies, in a ſhort Eſſay on the long Reign of

King HENRY III.

SCarce was that unfortunate Prince, King *John*, entombed within the bowels of the Earth, but the People, wearied with the heavy burthens of his time, but more eſpecially with the lingring Calamities of Civil Arms, and the affrighted fall of that Prince, their licentious and unhappy Sovereign; but all men ſtood at gaze expecting the event of their long deſires,

Peace, and the iſſue of their new hopes, their own particular benefits, for in all changes of Government, and in every ſhift of Princes, there are few either ſo mean or modeſt, that pleaſe not themſelves with ſome probable object of preferment.

Mat. Paris Hiſt. minor. But for the general ſatisfaction and compoſure of the minds of all, a Child (whoſe auſpitious looks ſeemed to portend the common good) aſcends the Throne; milde and gratious, but eaſy of nature, whole innocency and natural goodneſs (the paths of the Almighty's providence) led him ſafe along the various dangers of his Father's Reign: Happy was he in his Uncle *William Marſhall* Earl of *Pembroke*, the guide and moderator of his Infancy, and his moſt faithful Counſellor for no leſs than thirty years after, whilſt *De Burgo* (that faſt Servant of his Father's againſt the *French* both in *Normandy* and *England*)

land) with *Bigot* Earl of *Norfolk*, and others of great gravity and experience, did govern, and by their Counſels conduct the whole affairs of the Kingdom.

Few, and none others, were the Diſtempers of State, but ſuch as are incident and concurrent in all, *viz. The Nobility's deſire of Rule, and the Commons of Liberty: Fulco de Brent, De Fortibus* and ſome others, men that could onely thrive by Wars, the Ballance of whoſe Lives was their keeneſt Swords, ready at all adventures to abſcind the right and peace of others; Theſe, and ſuch men miſliked thoſe days of Sloth (for ſo they termed the calmneſs and tranquillity of King *Henry's* Government) and the rather for that the Juſtice of quiet times urged from them to the lawful Owners, tortious Poſſeſſions and unlawfull ſeiſins as the fury of War had unjuſtly given them, and finding that the King would make his Prero-

gatives as ſacred in their uſe as they are in their Stile, and that his Majeſty would not ſuffer his Power of Protection to be made a Stalking-horſe to the Rapines and Injuſtices of wicked men, making good that Maxim, *Rex hoc ſolum non poteſt facere, quòd non poteſt injuſtè agere*: They fell out into the Rebellion that with it ended their Lives and Competitions, profeſſing that the Swords which had ſet the Crown upon the Sovereign, when neither Majeſty nor Law could, ſhould ſecure thoſe ſmall pittances to their Maſters, when Majeſty and Law could not: Dangerous are too great benefits of Subjects to their Princes, when it maketh the mind capable of Merit, nothing of Duty: Ambitious men are dangerous in Councils, and diſturb the quiet of the Commonweal, more than the paſſionate Winds can toſs or prejudice a ſhip in the Ocean, No other turbulences did

Co. 11. Rep. Magdalen Colledge Caſe. Hiſtor. S. Alb.

the

the State after feel but ſuch as are incident in all, *the Malice of Authority.*

Good and great men may ſecure themſelves from Guilt, but not Envy; for greateſt in truſt for publick affairs are ſtill ſhot at by the aſpiring of thoſe who deem themſelves leſs in employment than merit. Theſe vapours did ever and eaſily vaniſh, ſo long as the Helm was guided by temperate Spirits, and the King tied his actions to the rule of good Counſell, and not to young, paſſionate, or ſingle advice.

Thirty years now paſſed, and all the Guides of his youth dead but *De Burgo*, a man in whom nothing of worth was wanting but moderation, when length of days giving him advantage of ſole Power, his ambition and age gave him deſires and art to ſeclude others, which wrought him into the fatal envy of moſt, and that was increaſed

Earl of Kent.

in the title of Earl, and an Office the King gave him. Time by this had wrought, as in it self, so in the affections of the people a Revolution: The Affliction of their Fathers forgotten, and the Surfeit of long Peace (perchance) having led in some abuses; Hence the Commons, to whom days present seem ever worst, commend the foregone Ages they never remembred, and condemn the present, though they neither knew the Disease thereof nor the Remedy. To these idle and pernicious humours of the unwary and unsteady Rabble, some young and noble Spirits often adhere, who always covet Action and rarely consider the Consequence, who being as ignorant as the rest, first, by sullying the Wisdom and Conduct of the present and greatest Rulers (making each casual mishap their error) seem to decipher every blemish in Government, and by holding meer imaginary and fantastick forms of Govern-

Government, flatter their own belief and abilities that they can mould any State to those general rules, which in particular application will prove idle and gross absurdities: Confirmed in their own worth by *Somerie* and *Spencer*, they take it a fit time to work themselves into Action and Authority, a thing very long desired, and now (though unwilling to seem so) sue for, and covet it, but the King taught them by the new Earl

Consilia Senum, hastas Juvenum esse,

and that such wits (for so they would be stiled)

Novandis quam gerendis rebus aptiores.

fitter in being factious to disorder than to settle affairs, either delayed or denied their desires, for wise Princes will ever chuse them Ministers,

Par negotiis & non supra.

Creatures that are only theirs, otherwise without Friends or Power; It is not the least happiness for Princes to be served with good Subjects equal to their affairs, for those abilities that are above their employments cause negligence, and those that are beneath, ruin of the Agent: Amongst this unequal medly, there were of the Nobility *Richard Marshal* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Glouceſter*, and *Hereford*, Darlings of the Multitude, some for the merits of their Fathers, whose memory they held sacred, as Pillars of publick Liberty, and Opposers of incroaching Monarchy at *Rumney Meade*; and of the Gentry, *Fitz-Geffery*, *Bardolfe*, *Gresley*, *Maunsel*, and *Fitz-John*, Spirits of as much acrimony and arrogant Spleen as the places from whence they were elected, (Camp, Court and Countrey) could afford

Mat. Paris Hist. minor.

afford any, theſe deſigne to compaſs their ends by force, whilſt the others effect their purpoſes by obſcure arts and cunning contrivances, too well knowing that *Ars Vim ſuperat*, yet though the latter by their ſubtle policies could overreach their Competitors, they could never prevail over wholeſome and honeſt Counſels: But all minds being as much diſturbed as their intereſts were divided, and deſigns frivolous and fruitleſs, and that ſo long as the King followed the Counſels and Directions of the Earl of *Kent*, they had ſmall hopes of their deſires and miſchievous purpoſes, they made frequent and often meetings, and as one ſaith of them

Clam & nocturnis colloquiis. *Mat. Paris Hiſt. minor.*

In the end *Somerie* and *Spencer*, two that were far in opinion with the reſt, whoſe Education qualified them in all reſpects for greater imployments

ployments than any of their times, they having the advantages of forreign experience in their Travels abroad, and well underſtanding the individual intereſts of the King and his Neighbours; upon theſe grounds they gloſſed their own merits, and ſet upon their own deſerts, the beſt places when the ſtream ſhould turn, which one of them (*Spencer*) did moſt unworthily obtain, for he raiſed in actual Rebellion *Juſticiarios Angliæ* againſt his Sovereign, and adviſed that the beſt means to remove that great and good Obſtacle, the Earl of *Kent*, out of the way of their preferment, was by ſifting into his actions and ſiding with his oppoſite, and moſt implacable enemy *Peter* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, an evil man but gracious with the King, aiming to drive out the moſt worthy by the worſt of men: That being their Maxim, they made no doubt they ſhould be able to remove the

the Inſtrument of their intended villanies (the haughty Biſhop) by dilating his particular Vices, and making them conſpicuous, and him notorious both to King and People, which will be ever more poſſible as he is more potent, and ſo conclude to remove him at their pleaſure, or elſe this muſt be the way, to give the King over to ſuch Miniſters as would certainly cut off the affections of his people, and conſequently render the Government odious: So they doubt not (though the firſt ſtratagem miſs) that this muſt certainly hit the mark, and light them the way to their dark and evil purpoſes,

Honores quos quieta Republica deſperant, perturbata conſequi ſe poſſe arbitrantur.

This Counſel being heard and approved muſt now be put in practice, the corrupt and ambitious

tious Bishop is drawn to their party by Money and an opinion of increase of Power; men are most easily corrupted in the supreamest Fortunes, where Lusts may have the advantage of being armed with Power: Articles are in all hast forged and urged against the good and innocent Earl, as, Sale of the Crown-lands, Wast of the King's Treasure, and Lastly that (which those ambiguous times held Capital) giving allowance to any that might breed a rupture between the Sovereign and the Subject, which they charged to be his design (to work some machinations of his own against the Government) and to have been done by him, in working the King to annihilate all Patents granted during his minority, and enforcing the Subject to pay as the Record it self mentions,

Non juxta singulorum facultatem, sed quicquid Justiciarius estimabat.

But

But the good Earl ſtood upon his own legs and oppoſed his innocence ſingly to ſhield him from the miſchiefs of their wicked purpoſes, and he cleared himſelf of all their falſe accuſations; but they did worthily periſh by their own Swords, for Arts that fit Princes, end ever in the ruin of the firſt inventors: Bad times corrupt good Counſel and make the beſt Miniſters yield to the Luſts of Princes,

Irridenda eſt eorum ſocordia, qui preſenti potentia credunt extingui poſſe ſequentis ævi memoriam. Tacit. l. 4.

Therefore this King cannot paſs blameleſs, that would ſo eaſily baniſh all former merit of ſo good a Servant for that wherein himſelf was chief in fault: But Princes natures are more voluble and ſooner cloyed than others, their Favours tranſitory; and as their minds are large, ſo they eaſily outlook

look their first elections, having no farther necessity in the fastness of their affections than their own satisfactions: When it is once past Noon with a Court-favourite, it is suddenly Night with him. The eminent Vertue of men, if it be not the cause of their natural, is frequently of their civil and political destruction; at first they are sought to, and raised by the necessities of the Prince, and under colour of the same pretext, or cause, they meet with ruin; The Tree that was esteemed for its Shadow to shelter us from the heat of the Summer, is afterwards cut down to defend us from the cold of the Winter; the same man whom Princes advance, and embrace in the heat of their necessity, is he whom they cut down in the cold of their jealousie.

Marq. Virgil. Malvezzi.

The Bishop now sits at Helm and mannageth the State as he pleases, having chosen for his Instruments,

Chron. de Litchfield.

Peter

Peter Rivalis, a man like himſelf; he diſplaceth the Natives, and obtrudes the *Britains* and other Foreiners into Offices and Places of the largeſt benefit and greateſt truſt: by whoſe conduct in Affairs, the King is drawn into an evil opinion of his people: For nothing is more intolerable with and againſt the nature of the *Engliſh*, than to have Strangers rule over them. Of theſe times *Wendover* an Authour then living, ſaith, *Judicia committuntur injuſtis, Leges ex legibus, juſtitia injurioſis.*

Thus the Plot of the tumultuous Barons went clear, and had not the diſcreter Biſhops calmed all by dutiful perſwaſions, informing the King of the pernicious conſequences that muſt inevitably follow this bad mans counſels and power, whoſe carriage before had loſt his Father *Normandy*, his Treaſure, the love of the People, and in that the Crown, and would (by teaching the

the Son paſſionately to reject the juſt Petitions and Rights of his loyal Subjects, as of late the Earl of *Pembroke* Earl Marſhal of *England*, the due of his Office) drive the whole Commonweal into diſtraction and diſcontent, by his bad advice and corrupt manners; and doubtleſs the rebellious Lords had ended this Diſtemper as they deſigned in a Civil War, had not theſe and the like wholſom Counſels ſtopped them in their career. Denials of Princes muſt be ſupplied with gracious uſage, that though they cure not the Sore, yet they abate the ſenſe of it: But it is beſt that all Favours flow directly from the Princes themſelves, as the proper Fountains of principal goodneſs and mercy: Denials, and things of bitterneſs from their Miniſters, are the proper Heralds of their Juſtice. Thus are the ſtrangers all diſplaced and baniſhed: B. *Rivalis* Extortions, ranſackt by many ſtrict Commiſſions

miſſions of Inquiry, the Biſhop himſelf ſent diſgraced to his See, finds now that

Nulla quæſita ſcelere potentia diuturna:

And that in Princes Favours there is no ſubſiſtance betwixt a mediocrity and precipitation; ſo dangerous are the ways of Majeſty, and men ſo fooliſh as to quicken their approaching ruines, by their partial Counſels, the effects of their own indulgence to their wicked Politicks: Policy is a Sea ſo inconſtant and ſo turbulent, that there is no place to be found in it where we have not ſeen one or other caſt away; it is a piece of Architecture ſo decayed, that it always threatens to tumble.

The affections of a corrupt mind, like thoſe of a diſeaſed body, are always pernicious: The Lords begin now to ſow upon this late

ground of the peoples diſcontent, *Querelas & ambiguos de principe ſermones*; and take the readieſt way to deſtroy the Government, by ſlandering the King and his Counſels, which is the beſt Expedient for them to procure the peoples affection, who always love change, and thoſe who have the greateſt tyranny in projection, will be the moſt vehement and earneſt Aſſertors of the peoples liberties and power, or popularity acquired by fraud or violence, will never be imployed in the exerciſe of Juſtice: The King whoſe Nature was too gentle for ſuch inſolent Spirits, was forced as *Fre.* ſaith) to ſeek as he preſently did the advice and counſels of ſtrangers, ſeeing his diligent care and greateſt merits could not procure or purchaſe it within his own Dominions; all bearing and behaving themſelves more like Tutors and Controllers, than like Subjects and Counſellors.

Monac. de Bur.

Regiſt. de Ma. Paris.

Lib. de Bermonſey.

'Tis

'Tis the Almighty that rules the hearts of Princes, and 'tis he alone that can pry into, prosper, or divert their purposes: *Nihil est quod Deus efficere non potest, & ullo sine labore*; 'Tis he whose auspicious Providence ever works, and yet never labours, but is eternally concerned in the preservation of all Sublunary Beings, more especially of those whose eminence exceeds all others (as Princes do) and stands next in relation (in respect of their Office) to the same Providence that finds means both to preserve and direct them: Whilst by the former Factions, the Affairs of State seem to go retrograde; Heaven sends the King such a Counsellor as the necessity of those times required: *Mountfort a French-man* is now become the Subject of the Kings Favours, and the choicest Object of his delight; a Gentleman of noble blood, and ample education; whose comely features and

exact delineaments ſeemed nevertheleſs to adapt him more for a Miſtreſs than a Counſellor.

The King ſeemed to be never more concerned than when this Favourite ſeemed to be troubled, and on this mans content, the ſtrongeſt affections of his Prince did ſo dote, that at the firſt eſſay of the Kings Favours and grace, his Majeſty (in ſpight of the Nobility) created him Earl of *Leiceſter*, and in no leſs offence of the Clergy (by violating the Rites of holy Church) gave him his vowed vailed Siſter to Wife. More of art than uſual, ſome have deemed this Act of the Kings making the tye of ſuch dependency, and the ſtrength of this aſſurance both at his will. *Mount-fort* made wanton thus with the dalliance of his Maſter, forgetteth his moderation, for diſcretion in youth ſeldom attends great and ſudden Fortunes: He draweth all publick Affairs into his own hands;

Ma. Par. Rog. Wend.

all

all favours muſt paſs from him, all preferments by him: the King ſtands but as a Cypher to add the greater Number to this Figure; and his Majeſty thought himſelf never more ſecure and glorious, than when this State-Statue was moſt adored; there was ſuch a perfect union betwixt them, that the croſſes and proſperities of the one, were bewailed and accepted by the other, and the King looked upon him no more as a Subject, but as his deareſt Friend and moſt familiar Companion. Great is the Soveraign's errour, and dangerous his condition, when the hope of Subjects muſt acknowledge it ſelf beholding to the Servant for matters of the greateſt importance, and acts of the greateſt grace, which ought always to be owned as the immediate bounty and good election of himſelf. The moſt eminent Exertions of the Soveraigns Grandeur, is always conſpicuous in the moſt

Chron. Jo. de Saigr.

elevated choice of great Actions; for,

Non vacat exiguis rebus adesse Jovi;

The Poets feign, that the Universe is born on the Shoulders of *Atlas*. So great Actions (which ought always to be the Princes own work) are the best Supporters of universal Soveraignty: Though Princes may take above others some Cabinet Friend, with whom they may participate their neareſt Paſſions, yet 'tis their greateſt prudence, ſo to moderate and temperate the Affairs of their Favourite, that they corrupt not the effects of their Principalities. *Montfort* is this Minion which grated the Spirits of the great men, and they conclude him unworthy to deal alone in thoſe Matters which ſhould paſs through their hands, and are implacably incenſed to ſee him leap over all their Heads to the greateſt

Honours

Honours and Offices; they presently run along with the rising Grace of the Kings half-brethren, (though Strangers) hoping thereby to divide that power which otherwise they saw impossible to break. *Leicester* confident of his Masters love, and impatient to bear either Rival in Favour, or Partner in Rule, opposeth them all, and arrays his audacity against their malice; yet he found in the ebb of his Fortunes the mischance of others, that this King could as easily transfer his Fancy, as he had unadvisedly settled his Choice. Great (we see) must be the experience and cunning of that man that can Pilote himself amidst the various streams and sudden gusts of Princes Favours, since the mutability of their Affections are as certain, as their Resolutions are difficult to be fixed: whosoever intends to effect this, must not aim only at the Honour and Service of his Ma-

ſter, diſpoyled of all other reſpects, transform himſelf into his inward inclinations, work into a neceſſity of employment, by undergoing the Offices of greateſt Secreſie, either of publick Service, or Princes Pleaſures, he muſt tumble down Competitors of worth by others hands, conceal his own Grandeur in publick, with a pretended humility, and what in Popularity or Government he affecteth, let it rather ſeem the work of others, than any appetite of his own. Thus were the Reigns of Government (by this advantage) made by the rebellious Lords, put ſolely into the hands of the Kings half-brethren, *Adam Guydo*, and *Godfrey*, and *William* himſelf as before; *Ex magnâ fortuna licentiam tantam uſurpans*: So now to act his own part was warily withdrawn, when he had ſuch eminent and worthy Relators of all his Actions about the King, as would frequently for his honour

H. Kinſton

and

and advantage opportunely urge them. These Masters (as *Wallingford* termed them) *Tanta elati jactantia quod nec superiorem sibi intelligunt nec parem, mellitis, & mollitis adulationibus animum Regis pro libito voluntatis ex rationis tramite declinantes,* do alone what they list, they fill up the Courts and places of Justice, and trust their Country-men under the conduct and rule of Foreiners, exact on whom and how they please, consume the Kings Treasure, and dispose the Crown-lands upon themselves and followers, set prices on all Offences, darraign the Justice of the Law within the rule of their own breast, the usual reply of their Creatures or Servants, being to the complaints of the Kings Subjects.

Quis tibi rectum faciet, Dominus Rex vult quod Dominus meus vult? *W. Bisbang.*

These

These Strangers seemed in their lawless carriage not to have been invited, but to have entred the State by conquest, exercising rather the Severities of Conquerors, than behaving themselves as good Magistrates or Friends, knowing that such power as is acquired by fraud, must be maintained by violence: The Nobility they compel not to obey but serve, and the meaner sort to live so as they may justly say, they had nothing, bringing in the greatest miseries that an unlimited power could inflict. *Plenitudo potestatis est plenitudo tempestatis*: Yet least the King should hear the groans of his people (which able and honest men would tell him) they bar all possibility of access to such men, suspicion and jealousie being the best means to conceal their own defects, always aiming at the ruine of those who have more of vertue than themselves, having the greatest cause to fear them most. *Omnis*

Omnis facultas gubernandi quæ eſt in Magiſtratibus, ſummæ poteſtati ita ſubjicitur, ut quicquid contra voluntatem ſummi Imperantis faciant, id defectum ſit ea facultate, ac proinde pro actu privato habendum. Gro. de jure B. & P. l. 1. c 4. Sect. 6.

Thus happens the incapacity of Government in Princes, when it falleth to be a prey to ſuch lawleſs Minions, the ground of all corruption in all the members of King *Henry*'s State. Contagions eaſily attaque the faireſt Fortunes, and men take example generally from their Prince's Weakneſs and Licentious Liberty; and Greatneſs frequently makes Gain a Monopoly, which gives way to the growth of evils, and they matter nothing more than their own private Lucre. A Famine accompanieth theſe Corruptions, and that ſo violent, that the King is enforced to direct Writs to all the Shires,

Ad

Rot. clauſ. 42 H. 3. *Ad pauperes mortuos ſepeliendos faucis media deficientis,* (Famine proceedeth) *& ſecutus eſt Gladius tam terribilis ut nemo inermis ſecure poſſit Provincias pervagari.*

For all places within the Realm were left a Prey to the Fury of the lawleſs and irreſiſtible multitude (*Plebs aut humiliter ſervit aut ſuperbe dominatur*) who,

Per diverſas partes itinerantes velut per conſenſum aliorum (as the Record ſaith)

did imply that the factious Lords ſuſpected by the King, had given ſome heat to that Commotion, Seditious Peers being too frequently the fomenters, but ever Fuel to ſuch popular Conflagrations. Neither were the Church-men without their parts in this Tragick work, as, *Walter* Biſhop of *Worceſter,*

ceſter, and *Robert* of *Lincoln* (to whom *Mountfort* and his Faction *percordialiter adherebant*) were much engaged: Theſe Contagions infect the Church as well as the State, and the Clergy in ſuch deſigns are rarely backward: and the diſguſt of the preſent Government in the Church as well as in the Commonwealth, will be but one deſigne carried on by the united reſolutions in the members of both; for ſuch turbulent and unquiet Spirits, who propoſe to themſelves a better fortune in the new modeling, or clean extirpation of the old, and introducing ſome new form of Government, which always in the minds of the giddy multitude winneth an applauſe both for the Deſign and the Projectors, and did at this time fitly ſute the peoples humour, ſo much diſtaſted at the new Courts of the Clergy, their Pomp, their Avarice, and the Pope's Extortions: Fair pretext it was to theſe

Will. Rishanger.

theſe Factious Biſhops to uſe their embittered Pens and Speeches, which they did ſo ſeverely againſt ſome Religious Orders, Ceremonies, and State of the Church, that one of them incurred the Sentence of Excommunication at *Rome*, and Treaſon at home; for he enjoyned the Earl of *Leiceſter*,

Mat. Paris will. Rishanger.

In remiſſionem Peccatorum ut cauſam illam (meaning the Rebellion) *uſque ad mortem aſſumerit, aſſerens pacem Eccleſiæ* Anglorum *ſine Gladio materiali nunquam firmari.*

Falſely grounding his opinion and practices on the ſaying of St. *Iſidore*,

Iſidor. ſent. li. 3. ca. 15.

Quod non prævalet Sacerdos efficere per doctrinæ Sermonem, Poteſtas hoc imperet per diſciplinæ terrorem.

It

It was not the beſt Doctrine this man might plant to preach its firmation and eſtabliſhment by a diſordered Liberty, and Civil Wars, when the firſt Church propagated its Diſcipline and Doctrine by Faſting and Prayer: True Piety bindeth the Subject to deliver a good Sovereign, to bear with a Bad, and to take up the burthen of Princes with a bended Knee, hoping rather in time to merit Abatement than reſiſt Authority: The Vices of bad Princes are to be born with the like patience as we endure Dearths and Tempeſts, or ſuch like Deviations of Nature from her uſual courſe; becauſe though Princes (as they are men) may be vitious, yet as ſuch are not immortal; and a pious Succeſſor may repair the ruins of a former Oppreſſor. Church-men ought not to lead us in the rule of Loyalty, but inſtruct us in the knowledge of our

our Christian and Spiritual Duties, in difficult points of Religion (where an humble ignorance is a safe and secure knowledge) we may rely on them.

To suppress these troubles, and supply the King's enormities, a Parliament was summoned much to the liking of these Lords, who as little meant to relieve the King's wants as they did desire, and endeavour to quiet His Majesties Realms, their end at this time being only to discover the Nakedness or Poverty of their Master at home, that so they may be able to diminish his Credit and Glory abroad, and so the better to brave out their inclinations freely; which those licentious times did permit. Here they began to be bare-faced, and audaciously to tell their Sovereign that he had wronged his Subjects, and injured the publique good, in that he had taken to his private choice the Chief Justice, Chancellor,

Chron de Worcester.

cellor, and Treasurer, that should be only by the Common Council of the Realm, commending much the Bishop of *Chichester* for denying the delivery of the Great Seal but in Parliament where he received it. They blame him to have bestowed the best Places of trust and benefit (that were in his gift) upon Strangers, and to leave the *English* unrewarded. To have ruined the Trade of Merchants by bringing Maltolts, and Customs, and to have invaded the Liberty of the Subject by *Non Obstantes* in his Patents to make good Monopolies for private Favorites. That he hath taken from his Subjects,

M. Paris. R. Wendov.

Jo. Wallingford. Ma. Paris. Ma. Paris.

Quicquid habuerunt in esculentis & poculentis. Rusticorum enim Equos, Bigas, Vina, victualia ad libitum capit.

That his Judges in their Circuits under colour of Justice do

Fleece the People *Cauſis fictitiis quoſcunque poterunt diripuerunt.*

Chron. de S. Albani. And Sir *Robert de Parſlaw* had wrong from the Borders of his Foreſts under pretence of Incroachments, and Aſſerts great ſums of Money, and therefore they wonder he ſhould now demand Relief from his ſo pilled and polled Commons, alledging the ſaying of *Tiberius*,

Sueton. *Quod boni Paſtoris eſt pecus tondere non deglubere,*

And that by theſe, and ſuch like former extremities,

Will. Rishanger. *Et per auxilia prius data, ita depauperentur, ut nihil habeant in bonis.*

And therefore they adviſe him that ſince his needleſs Expence (*poſteaquam Regni cæpit eſſe dilapidator*) was ſummed up by them to above 800000 *lib.* It were moſt juſt

juſt and expedient to retrench or reſume from his Favourites who had degluberated the Kingdom's Treaſure, divided the old Lands of the Crown, for, and amongſt, themſelves. Some of them they undertake to deſcribe: Saying one is *Clericus militaris*, or, *Literatus Miles*, that in a ſhort ſpace from the poſſeſſion of an Acre had grown up to the Inheritance of an Earldom. And that *Maunſell* another inferior Clerk did conſtantly expend 4000 marks, as the Product of his yearly Revenue, whereas a more compendious Stipend would have more aptly ſuited the dignity of Clerks better qualified than with the mean and ordinary fruits of a Writing-ſchool.

Chron de Litchfield.

Mat. Paris Hiſt. minor. W. Riſbang.

Notwithſtanding all which grievances, if a moderate ſupply would ſuite with the King's occaſions they were content to perform Relief in obedience, and as the * deſert of his

* *Ad Reges poteſtas omnium pertinet, ad ſingulos proprietas.*

carriage towards them ſhould merit, and ſo (as the Record ſaith)

Mat. Paris Regiſt. R. de Waling.

Dies datus fuit in tres ſeptimanas ut interim Rex exceſſus ſuos corrigeret, & magnates voluntati ejus obtemperarent.

At which day upon his Majeſties new grant of the *Great Charter*, admittance to his Council of ſome perſons elected by the Commons, and promiſe to rely upon natural Subjects of *England*, and not upon ſtrangers for his Counſellors hereafter, they grant him ſuch a Supply as his occaſions muſt ſhortly after oblige him again to their Devotion for another. Thus Parliaments that were ever before the moſt infallible medicine to heal up any Diſtempers or Malignities, are now grown worſe, and almoſt leſs deſirous, than the Maladies themſelves, ſince malevolent humours and factious Spirits

Spirits did moſt of all ſway in them, and the well-compoſed Temppers had the leaſt ſhare and prevalency in all their Conſultations.

Thus the King did demonſtratively experience the purpoſes of his Rebellious Subjects, and finding that the ebb of his Treaſure cauſed his Calamities to flow the higher, he begins to play the good Husband, conclude all Extravagances, and cloſe the mouth of his over-ſpending and over-open Purſe, and reſolveth himſelfe, though too late, to ſtand alone. Such experience is always pernitious to the private and dangerous to the publick good of the State, when it never learns to doe but by undoing, and never ſees Order but when Confuſion ſhews it: Yet ſtill, alas, ſuch was his flexibility that he could not refrain his aſſent to the vaſt, and as it were unlimited deſires and importunities of his Forreigners, tending to endleſs waſt and de-

struction, so that an Author living in those times saith it became a by-word amongst the Natives, *Our Inheritance is converted to Aliens, and our houses to Strangers.* Servants to a King excessive in Gifts, measure their demands by his bounty, and put them not out by reason but by example. Men naturally affect no bounty but what is meerly future, the more that a prince weakeneth himself by giving, the poorer he is of Friends, for prodigality in the Sovereign seldom ends without the Spoil and rapine of the Subject, self-interested Ministers ever building their Power, and conceive themselves to be as Arbitrary as their Master's Liberality to them is profuse.

Hist. minor. S. Albani.

The Kings Treasure is again exhausted, and yet he resolves, that before he will submit himself again to and bear as he had done the last Parliament; so many bravadoes and strict enquiries, and severe scrutinies

ſcrutinies of his factious and diſobedient Subjects, he reſolves to paſs through all the ſhifts that extremity of need with greatneſs of mind could lay before him. He 46 H. 3. beginneth firſt, with the Sale of Crown-lands, and then of Jewels, pawneth *Gaſcoigne*, and after that his Imperial Crown: And when he had neither credit to borrow, (having too often failed the reputation he had gotten) nor pawns of his own to procure any more, he then engaged the Jewels, and other Ornaments of Saint *Edward*'s 49 H. 3. Shrine: And in the end, being deſtitute both of Means and Money to defray the ordinary Expences of his Court; was conſtrained to break up houſe: and (as *Paris* ſaith) with his Wife and Children: *Cum abatibus & prioribus ſatis humilibus hoſpitia quærunt & prandia.* This Exigence (that again the Kings improvidence had reduced him to) gave great aſſurance *Hiſt. minor.*

to the rebellious Lords, they ſhould now have the ſoveraign power left a prey to their ambitious deſigns; And (as the quickeſt expedition to ſuch their machinations) they covet nothing more, than that the Kings neceſſities might be ſo many and ſo great, as to conſtrain him to call a Parliament; for at ſuch times Monarchs are ever leſs than they ſhould, Subjects more: For as the Moon is furtheſt off from the Sun which giveth her light, when ſhe is at the Full; ſo bad Subjects are remoteſt from the intereſt of their Prince, when they are fulleſt of riches and ambition, and ſo by conſequence further off from that juſtice and equity, which ought to give them light in all their proceedings.

To haſten on the time then for this Seſſion from whence they expect ſo much, and to fit the means to compaſs their ends, there are caſt abroad certain ſeditious rumours,

mours, that the Kings neceſſity muſt ſupply it ſelf upon the eſtates and liberties of the people; That his Majeſty having nothing of his own left, he might and meant to take from others what his own occaſions did require; for Kings muſt not want as long as their Subjects have means to ſupply: This never-failing Touchwood took fire juſt to their Minds, and wrought a little moving in the State, which doubtleſs had gone further if the King had not timely prevented by his Proclamations, *Quod quidam malevoli ſiniſtra prædicantes illis falſo ſuggeſſerant illum velle eos de debito gravari ac jura, & libertates regni ſubvertere, ut per ſuggeſtiones doloſas & omnino falſas eorum corda à ſua dilectione & fidelitate averterent*: But deſireth them, *hujuſmodi animorum ſuorum perturbatoribus ne fidem adhiberent*; for that he was ready to defend them from the oppreſſion of the great Lords, *Et omnia jura* Clauſ. An. 49 H. 3.

jura & libertates eorum debitas bonas & conſuetas in omnibus & per omnia plenius obſervare. But the King ſeeing that he could neither right himſelf nor his Subjects, without means and power, and himſelf had of neither ſo much as would ſtop the preſent breach in his own wants, or his Subjects loyalty, he flieth to the Boſom of his people for relief and counſel: At *Oxford* they met in Parliament, where his neceſſities met with ſo many undutiful demands, that he was forced to give up to their rebellious will his Regal power, and lay down his Prerogative to their unjuſt deſires. Here the Commons knowing, that

Ma. Paris. *Cum eligere inceperunt,* they were *loco libertatis,* required of the King to have the management of the Affairs of the publick put into the hands and under the care of Twenty four, whereof Twelve by their Election (to which they look ſtrictly) and the other twelve to

Chron de Worceſt.

be

be nominated by the King, who in all things elſe ſtood but as a Cypher, and in this, whether by fear or remiſneſs, filled out his number with *Mountfort*, *Glouceſter*, and *Spencer*: which beſides the weakning of his own part, won to theſe late Oppoſites an opinion of great intereſt they had in his Favour: He hath now left neither election of publick Office or private Attendant: He is now conſtrained to deſpoil his Brethren and their Friends and followers of all their Eſtates and Fortunes, and by a Writing under his own hand to baniſh them his Dominions, commanding the Ports *Pro tranſfretatione fratrum ſuorum* to be guided and directed by the Earls of *Hereford* and *Surry*, and not to ſuffer them to export with themſelves, either Money, Arms, or Ornament, *Niſi in forma quam dicti Comites injunxerunt*: And after their departure, enjoyned the men of *Briſtol* that they

Clauſ. An. 49. *H.* 3.

they ſhould not permit any Strangers, *ſive propinquos ipſius regis applicare in porta*; but ſo to behave themſelves herein, that as well the King *quam magnates ſui merito debeant commendare.*

Thus we ſee how difficult a thing it is to apply ill Acquiſitions to a good uſe, and how hard it is to fix the wavering diſpoſitions of chance on a firm *baſis*. *Richard* Elect of the Empire, the Kings full Brother, and then beyond the Seas, muſt be wrought by his own Letter, and (at his free deſire) to confirm by Oath theſe former 11 reſtrictions of Regal power, which when he had performed, yet would the Lords ſuffer neither the one nor the other to enter *Dover* Caſtle (the Key of the Kingdom) which they had furniſhed, (as likewiſe moſt of the other Forts of ſtrength in the Realm) with Guardians of their own, ſworn reſpectively to the Common State and them, taking

Chron. St. Albani.

Clauſ. An. 49 H. 3.

king the like assurance for the good behaviour of many towards their Cause by strict Commission upon Oath to gain opinion in shew among the Vulgar who groaned under their late Extortions, whereas their design was truly (as it after appeared) by displacing the most faithful Servants of the King, to make the way easie for their own Dependants. *Wil. Risbanger.*

This change of sole Power from the nature and right of the ancient Government into the hands of a seeming Democratie set up by popular Election, made the Kingdom believe (or rather imagine) that by this form of limited Policy, they had utterly suppressed the hopes or expectation of any one man, for ever aspiring to, or dreaming more upon the imaginary humours of licentious Soveraignty: But it fell out nothing so, for every man began to estimate his own worth now, and to humour his brain on every

every deſign which might encreaſe his power and command.

Rot. Scotii. The great men (as being firſt in ſtrength) begin now to rend their Maſters Coat, and moſt arbitrarily to oppreſs their Neighbours, by ſeiſing the King and his Subjects Seigniories, upon none other pretence then becauſe they lay convenient for, and bordered on their Seats; And enforce the Tenants, (as the Record ſaith) *Ad ſectas indebitas & ſervitutes intolerabiles ſubditos regis compulerunt.* Thus they unjuſtly acquired great Mannors to ſupport their greater intended Honours, and by miſguiding the Royal Juſtice, make themſelves of ſo many Subjects (whilſt they lived within the bounds of their Allegiance) ſo many Tyrants (as the Book of *S. Albans* ſaith) when they had renounced their Loyalty,

Rot. Scotii. *Magnas induxerunt magnates regni ſuper ſubditos Regis ſervitutes & oppreſſiones*

preſſiones, which they bear with the greateſt patience; for exceſs of miſery finding no eaſe but on the ſhoulders of Cuſtom, made men ſatisfied with their hardeſt ſervitude by the length of Sufferance, which found neither eaſe nor end, until the calm of this Kings Reign: For in all changes it is the peoples miſeries that firſt happen, and are laſt redreſſed; and yet the peoples deſtruction is the ſureſt perſpective through which the Prince may have the neareſt viewing of his own approaching ruine, the calamities of both being ſo individually concomitant, that they ever obſerve this order in their progreſs, (*viz.*) That the Soveraign brings up the Rear of his Subjects misfortunes, and leads the Van of his own and their proſperities.

Mountfort, *Glouceſter*, and *Spencer*, the Heads of this rebellious deſign, having by the late proviſions drawn to the hands of their Twenty *Fo. de Wallingford.*

ty four Tribunes the sole management of the Royal Authority, yet finding this power too much dispersed to accomplish the end of their purposes, force again the King at *London* to call a Parliament, where they purchase and procure the power of the Twenty four to be delivered unto themselves, and create a Triumvirate *Non constituendæ reipub. causa* as they pretended, but that they might the better facilitate the means to effect their own private ends. One of them is made (which proved fatal to him) *Dictator perpetuus*, Ambition is never so high, but she thinks ever to mount that Station which seemed lately the top, is but a step to her now, and what before was great in desire seems little when it is in power.

These three elect Nine Counsellors, and appoint *Quadres ad minus alternatim semper in Curia sint*, to appoint Governours for his Majesties

jesties Ports and Castles, *Et de aliis omnibus regni negotiis*, of the chief Justice, Chancellor, and Treasurer, with all Officers both great and small, the choice of which they reserve to themselves, and bind the King to this hard Bargain upon such strong Security, that he is constrained to confirm it under the Great Seal, and for his stricter observance thereof to bind himself by an Oath, which was in effect, to remit to them the tyes of their Allegiance and bounden duty, whensoever he assumed the exercise of his Royal Dignity; insomuch that *Licet omnes de regno nostro contra nos resurgere, & ad gravamen nostrum opem & operam dare, ac si nobis in nullo tenerentur.* Cart. Orig. sub Sigillo.

Hence we may see, that Riches are the firmest and most steady bottom whereon to build the safety as well as glory of a happy Monarchy, whose report terrifies our Enemies beyond the roaring of the greatest

Cannons: 'Tis therefore the prudence of every Prince not to be lavish of his Purse, since the *basis* of Government (the glory of the Prince) is quite overwhelm'd in the gulph of an empty Fortune: And it is not enough for a man in Authority to have a Power that may awe the judgment of the wise to subjection, unless he have a pomp or purse to, that may dazle the eyes of the Vulgar into veneration. This Prince, this Prodigy of Fortune whom she had affronted with the most pitiful and insolent Examples of her inconstancy, finding no part of his Soveraignty left, but the naked Title (which he enjoyed neither but by the permission of the rebellious Lords) beggeth succour from *Urban* the Fourth against his disloyal Subjects; The Pope by his Bull cancelleth his Oath and Contract, and armed him with Excommunication against all such as returned not with speed to

their

their due and old obedience. The Lords at this grow incouraged, and resolve, since promises made by men (that cannot say they are at liberty) are light, and Oaths of so a little moment, to be contented now with no gain but what they should rake out of the ashes of that Monarchy they meant to destroy: They make head now against their Soveraign, and the better to confront him call in to their assistance the *French* Forces: Thus the Commonwealth turned her Sword into her own bowels, and invited her ancient Enemy to the funerals of her liberty; So that it was a wonder she did not at this time undergo the rigorous severities of an arbitrary forein Servitude.

Chro. Leichfield. Will. Rishander, Chron. de Brit.

And although these men were more truly sensible of their own disgrace than others miseries, yet found they no better cloak to cover their unjust Designs, than that

Chro. Dunstable. Will. Rishanger.

of asserting the publick good; and therefore at the beginning of this unhappy War, they cried out, *Liberty! Liberty!* although when they had finished it, they threw off that cloak of the Publick Good, and made that very Liberty they so much cried up, give place to their own private interest and lust.

Those that have the extreamest Tyranny in projection, will be the greatest Pretenders of the Publick good, and the most importunate and implacable Assertors of the Peoples Rights and Liberties; And it is the most compendious way of imposing slavery, to raise in the multitude too passionate and eager desires of Liberty: And when success attends the Tyrants Enterprizes, it is not the indulgence of Heaven to him, but the indignation thereof towards the people.

At *Lewis* the Armies met, where the King endeavours a reconciliation, but to no purpose, for perswa-

sions are ever unprofitable, when Justice is inferiour to force; The Lords resolve to decide the difference by Battel, the fatal consequence of which was the captivity of the King and his two eldest Sons, and so *Mountfort* and *Glouceſter* trampling on the Misfortunes of their Prince mounted with the more facility into the place (though not the Throne) of Regal Power, (the effect of their long-laboured and wished for ends.) Thus all Authority being devolved into the hands of these two, from whose ambition the King could neither expect safety or liberty, unless the emulous competition of Grandeur (which now began to break out between these mighty Rivals) might produce it, by verifying the old Proverb, *That when thieves fall out, the honeſt man comes to his right*; For *Leiceſter* meaning to engross from his Partner to himself, the Kings person, and to his Follow-

ers, the best part of the Spoil, and so reap more Fruit from the Advantage when divided, than he conceived was possible to be produced, so long as he was coupled in fellowship with *Gloucester*, wherefore he dissolved all former Obligations of Amity and Friendship betwixt them. Thus equal Authority with the same Power is always fatal in great Enterprizes, for to fit minds to so even a temper, that both should round the same circle, and never out-look the Horizon of their reciprocal interest, is a work altogether impossible.

Mountfort having now broken all Faith with his Confederate, and renounced his Allegiance to his Soveraign, forsook the paths of integrity and moderation to come to the King by those of pride and distrust, to whom he feigneth, that he never assumed Arms for, and his ambition and desires never had any other object, but the settlement of

the

the Weal-publick, and ease of his Majesties Subjects: That he did not in this carry his affection against duty, but knew well how to limit his desires to his just power, and so no less to the Kings content, if his Majesty would be ruled and guided by his Counsels, which was to summon and command all the Forts and Castles of his Competitor *Gloucester* and the rest, into the custody of himself, and to be disposed of as he should direct and advise. The Discontent and Insurrections of the Multitude is always grounded on the evil actions of some great Minister, or Court Minion: But if great men rebel, it is not so much for that they dislike the Government, but because they would be Governours themselves: To yield to their Demands is to resign the Soveraignty, seeing such will not be satisfied till they obtain it, which is visible in the Fortunes and behaviour of this

man: He has now climbed the *Summit* of Regal Power, and ſits at the Helm of State to govern and direct Affairs according as he pleaſeth, and ſtill thought to diſſemble his purpoſes with the King, but thought of nothing leſs than the performance of his promiſes: Such was his inſatiable luſt after Superiority, that it became a matter almoſt impoſſible for him to be honeſt, he was ſo compleatly ſtuffed with improbity, that he had no room left for honeſty, and his own baſe Intereſt ſo pricked him forward, that he trampled on the miſeries of his Prince without the leaſt pity or remorſe, and reſolves (as it were) from the heart of Monarchy to ſpin out the long thread of his endleſs ambition, and make no other uſe of a King, than to lead him as the Stalking-horſe to the deprivation of his Crown and Dignity. But his purpoſes are ſhortly prevented in his own fatal over-

throw;

throw; for God gave the King better Counſels: Nevertheleſs Majeſty as yet is forced to truckle under Inferiority, and the neceſſities of the time (which in Soveraign Affairs doth often force away all Formalities) compels the King to embrace his Propoſals, and much againſt his own thoughts to look upon him as his Friend: And therefore this poor Prince who (now at the Victors diſcretion) ſeemed to have been only raiſed to ſhew the inconſtancy of Fortune, and vanity of man, ſuited himſelf nevertheleſs with incomparable humility and wiſdom to the emergency of his misfortunes: Neither did that humility at this time wrong the Splendors of Majeſty, ſince there were none other means left to ſubdue Spirits that were ſo inſolent, but diſſimulation: His Majeſty therefore in his own perſon ſummoned the Forces of his faſteſt Friends to yield to his greateſt

greatest Enemy. Thus *Leicester* became the Darling of the common Rout, who easily change to every new Master, and whose Favours are so inconstant that they are never to be fixed; so that he could not sail long amidst the tenebrous Designs of his Enemies, by the light and splendour of his new acquired Glory: For as the ascent of Usurped Royalty is slippery, so that the top is tottering, and the fall fearful;

Altius evexit quam te fortuna, ruinam
Majorem timeas —— Juven.

To hold this man then compleatly happy at the entrance of his false felicity, was but to give the name of the Image to the Mettall, which was not yet molten; For by this the Imprisoned Prince had broke his Fetters, and makes his first resort to *Glouc*ester, who coveted

covered any; but more especially this opportunity of the King's presence to revenge the injuries and affronts that *Leicester* had before done to his Interest and Honour, had having formed another out of the torn remains of the loyal Army, by a speedy march they arrived, unlooked for, at *Evesham*, where the unarmed troops of the secure Rebells then lay, whom they instantly assail, for it was no fit season to give time, when no time could assure so much as expedition did promise: *De Spencer*, and other Lords of that faction came towards their Prince with the best speed, for mercy, but could not break out being hurried along with the scorn of the giddy multitude. Publick Motions depend on the conduct of Fortune, private in our own carriage, we must be wary therefore of running down steep hills with mighty bodies, they once in motion, *Suaferuntur ponderi*, stops are not

not then voluntary: But *Mountfort*, at that time with the King and out of the Tempeſt, might have eſcaped, if his timerity and hope had not made him more reſolute by m'sfortune, ſo that he could neither deſert his Followers, nor relinquiſh his Ambition. Thus fell this Uſurper by making Adverſity the exerciſe of his Vertue, or rather deſperate in the loſs of his hopes, is reſolved not to ſurvive their funerals, but to die with his deſigns, accounting it more glorious to be killed in defence of his Power than than by ſubmiſſion tamely to renounce himſelf (his ambitious nature) and live within the bounds of his allegiance. Private contemplations may be ſatisfied with more or leſs of Fortune, but aſpiring thoughts we ſee once raiſed to the height of Rule are no longer in our own power, having no mean to ſtep upon between the higheſt of all and the precipitation.

Thus

Thus the King by these happy occurrences of Providence being delivered from the severities of his former miseries, and his Royall Authority returned into its Channel by the Reduction of his people to their due and wonted obedience, he began to be more carefull, and to make a stricter scrutiny into the grounds and causes of his former Misery, and why that Virtue which had both setled and upheld the Glory of the Empire so long under his Ancestors had cast her self off in his time, and conspired with her Enemies to her most ruine, as if the Genius of the State had utterly renounced her. Here he finds his Bounty had been too profuse in too liberally bestowing what was his own, and his Subjects Fortunes: the griping Avarice of his civil Ministers, and lawless Liberty of his Followers: The neglect of Grace, and breach of his word, to have lost his Nobility

W. Rishang. Rot. Pat. 53 Hen. 3.

bility at home, and neceſſity his Reputation abroad by making merchandize of Peace and War, as his laſt refuge; ſo leaving his old Allies became himſelf enforced to betake himſelf to perſons ambiguous or injurious, and that by giving over himſelf to ſenſual Security, and referring the conduct of all affairs to baſe, greedy, and unworthy Miniſters, whoſe Counſels were allways more ſubtle than ſubſtantial; ſo that now perfectly perceiving by theſe miſguidances and evil Counſels he had thrown down thoſe two main Pillars of Sovereignty and Safety, *Reputation abroad, and Obedience at home.* He now therefore moderateth the firſt entrance of his reſtored Sovereignty with Sweetneſs and Clemency, he paſſeth an *Act of Oblivion* on the miſpriſions of moſt of the late Rebels, others he forgave that they might live to acknowledge his goodneſs, always deeming that the fewer

Fo. de Tuxetor. Monac. de Bury.

fewer he deſtroyed the more remained to adorn his Trophy. Tyrants ſhed blood for pleaſure and revenge, Kings for neceſſity, the latter delighting as little in the death of a Subject, as God himſelf (the univerſal Monarch) doth in that of a Sinner, whoſe Glory is always moſt conſpicuous in the benigne attribute of his Mercy; whereas his Juſtice is not always to be exerciſed, unleſs it be to exert the terrors of his offended Majeſty in the deſtruction of an unrelenting and implacable Sinner. Even ſo this Prince, leaſt his Juſtice and Power might too much ſuffer by his acts of Grace, ſome few he puniſhed by ſmall Fines, and others by Baniſhment, as the two guiltleſs yet unpitied Sons of the Arch-Traitor: For Treaſon is a Crime that draws Poſterity under the odium of the Anceſtor; and what would be but a bare ſuſpition in others, is a poſitive guilt

Clauſ. 53 *H.* 3.

guilt in them; and that Crime merits the higheſt reſentment which in its conſequence is moſt pernicious to the Supreameſt Power. The Spawn of a Traitor ought as little to be nouriſhed (in the Garden of a Commonwealth by the hand of Policy) as the diſcrete Gardiner does that weed which he roots up and deſtroys, becauſe in its own nature it is deſtructive to the growth of thoſe Herbs, which are of a more excellent quality: And he that firſt preached that Doctrine to Princes of grafting their Enemies in thoſe places due only to the merit (and only proper for the care) of their Friends, is certainly he who deſigned to ſuppreſs the growth of Friends and increaſe that of Enemies; for he took no regard to that common Orthology,

Quo ſemel eſt imbuta recens ſervabit odorem
Teſta diu——

which

which the State hath often experienced, and which is too visible in the actions of a great many, even in these very times. And if this impolicy be persisted in, and the King's Enemies must still be produced from the sufferings of his Friends, and this encrease be watered by the Dew of his Majesties own bounty on the greatest Malignants to his Government, where will be the Friends in time of need? All ought, but those that are most willing cannot, and those that have been most obliged will not. And you may gild a Traitor with your Gold, and make him seem another thing in shew, but if you cast the *Good old Cause* before him, he will be like the transformed Cat in the Fable, or rather (to adapt the Simile) like the Curr that will return to his Vomit. Unto the constant followers of his broken fortune he giveth (but with a more wary hand) the forfeitures of his

Enemies, having found profuse Bounty but a weak means to procure affection, for it lost more in the gathering than it gained in the giving; for that liberality which is bestowed without respect, is taken without grace; it discredits the Receiver, detracts from the Judgment of the Giver, and blunts the appetites of such as carry their hopes by their Virtue and Service; Thus at last he learned that Reward and Reprehension do ballance Government, and that it much importeth a Prince *The hand be equal that holdeth the Scale.* In himself he reformed his natural errors, for Princes Manners have more of life and vigor in their Example, and become a Law sooner observed and obeyed than those of Letters: and although he did sometimes touch upon the verge of Vice, he forbore ever after to enter the Circle. And his Court, wherein at this time

Chron. de Dunstable.

time the faults of great men did not only by approbation but imitation alſo receive encouragement and authority, he purged ſeverely, ſince from thence proceeds either the regular or diſorderly condition of the State. Expence of houſe he meaſured by the juſt rule of his proper Revenue, and was heard frequently to ſay, that his exceſs of waſt had cauſed the greateſt iſſue of his Subjects blood. The inſolence of the Souldiers (made lawleſs by the late liberty of Civil Arms) he ſpendeth in Foreign Expeditions, having ſeen that the moſt temperate Spirits bore the rigour of all the former miſeries, and that the other never were ſatisfied but in the Calamities of the Innocent, and knowing that if he did not find an Enemy for them abroad, they would procure one to themſelves at home. The rigours and corruptions of Civil and Judicial Officers he examineth and redreſ- *Anno 53. Hen. 3.*

ſeth by ſtrict Commiſſion, for the ſence of their Severity became the murmur of his own cruelty. The Seats of Judgment and Counſels he filled up with men nobly deſcended, for ſuch attract with leſs offence the generous Spirit, to reſpect and reverence; Their ability he meaſureth not by favour, nor by private information (as before) but by general voice; for every one in particular may deceive and be deceived, but no one can all, nor all deceive one. Now therefore to diſcover his own Capacity, that ſo he might know what part to bear hereafter in all deliberate enterpriſes, he daily ſits in Council, and in his own perſon manageth all affairs of the greateſt weight and moment; for Counſellors be they never ſo wiſe are but acceſſaries in the guidance of the Commonwealth; their Office muſt be ſubjection, not fellowſhip, in Conſultations, and to have ability to adviſe

Chron. de Trailbaſton.

viſe, not authority to reſolve; for as the natural Body cannot ſubſiſt unagitated by the Soul, no more can the politique part or grandeur of a Prince always ſupport it ſelf without ſometimes giving a *Sic Volo, Sic Jubeo,* for unleſs he be poſitive in ſome things to the manifeſtation of his Power, he is unfit to be obeyed in any thing, to the proſtration of his Prerogative; For it offendeth as well the Miniſter of merit as the People, to be obedient to one incapable of his own Greatneſs and unworthy of his Fortune.

This wonderful change to the Kingdom in general, lately deſtitute of all hopes or expectations to recover their ancient Rights and former Liberty, that they wiſhed and ſought for nothing but the mildeſt Servitude, did bring them back (without the leaſt Commotion) miraculouſly to their Duty, and their Allegiance lovingly im-

braced their new recovered and reſtored Rights and Liberties. He that will lay (we ſee) the foundation of Greatneſs upon popular eſteem muſt give his Subjects eaſe and juſtice, for they meaſure the Bond of their obedience by the Good always they receive.

This calm ſerenity ever after bleſſed his old age, and attended his perſon to the period of his days. And now he ranſacks the various calamities and changes of his own Reign, purpoſing to prepare his Succeſſor with the beſt rules (from Principles which himſelf had drawn from experience) for the ſettling of an happy Government, and with the beſt remedies againſt evil times. The negligence and intemperance of youth, which experience and old age had both amended and worn out in himſelf, he adviſes his Son to avoid, as the greateſt ſtimulations to all the incommodities of trouble

trouble and infelicity. And the better to inſtruct and enable him, he made him partner both of his Experience and Authority; and farther adviſed him as the moſt approved Antidote againſt the Venom of every paſſion, and as the ſureſt Compaſs to ſteer himſelf by amidſt all occurring anxieties and dangers; to learn in Proſperity to be ſilent and not tranſported; in Adverſity, to be patient and not dejected: In neither to be diſcontented or diſſatisfied: but in both to be diſcreetly and Philoſophically affected. In fine, all the Actions of his future Reign were exact grounds of Diſcipline and Policy, (the beſt patterns for his Succeſſor's imitation.)

And, as he was the firſt that ſettled the Law, and State, deſerving to wear the ſtile of *England's Juſtinian*, and the Great and Glorious Title, *To have delivered the Crown from the Subjection*

and wardſhip of the Nobility, ſhewing himſelf in all his Actions after capable to command not the Realm only, but the whole World.

Thus frequently doth the wrongs and malice of our Enemies, beyond the conduct of our own prudence, make us ſometime both Wiſe and Fortunate. And as no Man was ever truely Miſerable but by his own miſcarriage, ſo none can ever be truely Happy without putting a *Ne plus ultra* to the career of his unruly Paſſions, and exorbitant Luſts: The firſt of which is truely viſible in the Fortunes and Fate of *Mountfort* the King's Minion, and the latter conſpicuous in the bad and good Fortune of this King himſelf.

That man who becomes the ſubject of his Princes delight and favours, muſt have in him a correſpondent worth as well of Wiſdom and Obedience, as of Sincerity and Truth, which makes none

other

other uſe of this ſo great a bleſſing but to his Sovereigns Honour and his own Credit; and not to advantage himſelf by the oppreſſion of others. *Sudorem ferro abſtergere tetrum facinus*; ſaith *Pythagoras*.

To curvet and dance on the top of a Pinacle is the readieſt way to tumble, and it is as dangerous for a man to walk on the Summit of Honour, which is ſo glaciated and ſlippery by the over-tumid paſſions and temptations (the conſtant companions of a Supreme Fortune) without the indiſpenſable ſupport of moderation.

Let the Favourite always taſt the Kings bounty, but not devour it; let him enjoy his Maſters Ear, but not engroſs it; let him participate his Love, but not enchant it. If he muſt be a Moat in the Eye of the Commonwealth, let him not be a Monſter.

And Laſtly, if he muſt hold the Reigns of the Government, let him

him not ride it with the Spurs of Ambition: 'Tis that alone makes a subject sally beyond the bounds of his Duty, and at one instant to become both a *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, to endure neither Equal nor Superiour; the dismal consequences of which is too frequently an irretrievable misery both to his Prince and Countrey. Let the Kings Actions be as pure and immaculate as Truth and Innocence, yet if his affection either blind or transport him to become the Asylum of his Servants insolences and evil actions, then Majesty it self becomes guilty, and must expect to share both in the grievance and hatred of the poor distressed Subject.

The general Cry seeing the Stream polluted ascribe it to the Fountain head, where is the Spring and Power that may reform and cleanse it. He that will read the History of our own, or those of Foreign

reign Nations, shall find (that by this one particular error of protection) a number of memorable Examples which have produced Deposition of Kings, Ruine of Kingdoms, the effusion of Christian Blood, and the general distractions of that part of the World, all grounded on this occasion.

Princes should put limits to their own affections, and the Power Majestick is or ought to be bounded, and the obedience due to the King should reciprocally correspond with the equal Right and Justice due to the subject, by which they claim a property in his actions. If either of these prove defective by wilful Errour, the State is in imminent danger of a following mischief. The Ballance therefore must be kept even betwixt the Princes *Power* and the Peoples *Liberty*, which is the firm Basis of a quiet Government.

Let the People abstain from Faction

Faction and Diſcontent (the Dams that at length bring forth Confuſion and Rebellion) and no doubt the Prince will from Tyranny and Oppreſſion. It is the Intereſt as well as Duty of every Subject to pay an entire obedience to the Government under which he lives, and that without murmur or grumbling; for his obedience is a Condition annexed to that Security which he hath of his Life and Liberty; for no Prince is obliged to protect his Subjects any longer than they continue in their Obedience to him, ſince Rebellion and faction cannot be nouriſhed but as a Viper in the Boſom of Government. And a proſpect of danger does often neceſſitate a Prince to become a Tyrant in his own defence, and it was a wiſe ſaying of *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*, *That good Subjects might eaſily of a bad make a good Prince, but he could never of bad Subjects make good.*

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The King in his Throne is like the Sun in the Firmament whoſe influence animates all ſublunary beings. So the Authority of a Prince gives life and vigor to every particular Member of the Body politick; and he is not onely *Caput* but alſo *Anima Reipublicæ*, and no member ought to move from his proper ſtation, or againſt that Soul which is the life of its being, or preſume to accede too near this reſplendent Head (by intermedling with the ſcorching influences of the State Arcana, but leave them to their own orderly courſe and natural guidance) leaſt the brightneſs thereof ſhould dazle the Adventurers into Blindneſs and Faction, and the heat thereof ſcorch them into Rebellion and Deſtruction.

But ſuppoſe a Magiſtrate really Tyrannical; it is no contemptible queſtion, Whether the evils of the Redreſs may not be equivolent to the

the miſchiefs: I remember *Livy*'s *Nec morbum ferre poſſumus nec remedium.* And *Tacitus*, *Ferenda Regum ingenia, neque uſui eſſe crebras mutationes: vitia erunt donec homines, ſed neque hæc continua, & meliorum interventu penſantur*; and *Seneca*, *Infeliciter ægrotat, cui plus periculi à Medico quam Morbo.* Poiſe the Miſeries of a Civil War with the Grievances of an unjuſt Magiſtrate, and the Ballance ſeems to me ſo unequal, that if my Chriſtianity fail, the apprehenſion of the inevitable miſeries by the Sword is ſufficient to deterr from ſuch a practice; for though the fury of incenſed Tyranny may fall heavy upon many particulars, yet the bloody conſequences of an inteſtine Sword are more epidemical and laſting: And *Tacitus* commends to Subjects rather *Scutum* than *Gladium*, the Shield of Patience and Toleration to be more excellent than the Sword. But if there be

ſuch

ſuch diſtempers in a State, as ſhall neceſſarily require amendment, let it be left to the courſe of Providence, and not (againſt the diſpoſition of Heaven) be attempted by the Sword of Violence, for I never read that Illegal, or Tumultuous, or Rebellious were fit Epithets for Reformation: And 'tis fit Chriſtians ſhould forbear the uſe of ſuch ſurly Phyſick till they have levied a Fine in the Court of Heaven, and cut off the entail of the ſeventh Beatitude.

It is manifeſt that we are fallen into the dregs of time, we live in the ruſt of the Iron age, and muſt accordingly expect to feel *Ultima ſeneſcentis mundi deliria*, the dotages of a decrepit World, and the many miſeries that attend an hardned and diſſenting people; wherefore I will conclude with the ſaying of the Philoſopher:

Novi ego hoc Sæculum quibus moribus ſit, Malus bonum, malum eſſe vult, ut

ut sit sui similis; turbant, miscent mores mali; Rapax, Avarus, Invidus, sacrum profanum, publicum privatum habebit; Hiulca gens, &c.

FINIS.